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ABSTRACT

Key issues affecting Hispanic participation in higher education are evaluated, with attention to access, retention, and transfer. Societal factors influencing access are also covered: migration, technology, employment and income levels, and secondary schooling. In addition, postsecondary education in Puerto Rico is addressed. Hispanics constitute 6.4% of the population in the United States, but only 3.7% of undergraduate, 2.2% of graduate, and 2.3% of professional school enrollment. In this regard, Hispanics fare worse than Blacks and Asians. In 1980, Hispanics earned 2.3% of all bachelor's degrees and 3% of all doctorate degrees awarded in the United States. At present, a majority of Hispanics attend community college. These students, generally, neither transfer nor receive degrees. Current financial aid policies have reduced Hispanic access to sources of student aid, since there are more applicants and declining resources. In addition, increasingly complex application procedures and stricter eligibility requirements act as a barrier to access for Hispanics. There is a need for improved community college instruction and counseling, as well as better coordination between two- and four-year colleges. The overwhelming number of Hispanics enrolled in four-year colleges are Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico. (SW)

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STAFF REPORT ON THE HISPANIC ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 99TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

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Serial No. 99-K

Printed for the use of the Committee on Education and Labor
AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS, *Chairman*

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Foreword

This committee print is published in accordance with the request of former Congressman Paul Simon, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education during the 98th Congress.

The document was prepared by Subcommittee majority staff as a staff report on Hispanics' access to higher education.

The Committee on Education and Labor, under its rules, authorizes its subcommittees in carrying out oversight responsibilities to undertake reviews and studies of programs and matters within their jurisdictions.

This report was not officially adopted by the Committee on Education and Labor or by its Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, and therefore may not necessarily reflect the views of the members thereof.

I am pleased that Mr. Simon initiated this report because it deals with such an important issue: access by our Hispanic population to higher educational opportunities. I commend this report to my fellow Members of Congress and to the public, and urge all of us to take action on the problems outlined in this report.

AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
Chairman, Committee on
Education and Labor.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION,
Washington, DC, December 28, 1984.

Hon. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
Chairman, Committee on Education and Labor, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, DC.

DEAR GUS: Please find enclosed the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education's "Staff Report on Hispanics' Access to Higher Education." You will recall that I mentioned to you in my letter transmitting a draft of the Subcommittee's 98th Congress Activities that this report would be forthcoming. This report was prepared by Jose Cruz, an Hispanic Caucus Fellow who was assigned to the Subcommittee, under the direct supervision of William Blakey, our Subcommittee Counsel and Staff Director. Please have 500 copies of the report printed.

This report has not been reviewed by other Members of the Subcommittee and, as such, should bear the following disclaimer as required by Committee rule:

"This report has not been officially adopted by the Committee on Education and Labor (or pertinent Subcommittee thereof) and may not therefore necessarily reflect the views of its Members."

If you have any questions, please have Susan Grayson or Jack Jennings contact Bud Blakey on 5–8881.

Cordially,

PAUL SIMON, *Chairman.*

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INTRODUCTION

The Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education first initiated its Hispanic Access to Higher Education project during the 2nd Session of the 97th Congress. Beginning with the hearing on September 16, 1982 and continuing through three days of hearings in Puerto Rico and day long hearings in Houston, Texas, Los Angeles, California and Chicago, Illinois in the 1st Session of the 98th Congress, the Subcommittee documented the problems and prospects for increasing the access of Hispanic Americans to higher education. The term Hispanic American is used to include representatives from three major ethnic groups: Puerto Ricans, both in the United States and in Puerto Rico; Mexican-Americans, primarily in the west and southwest; and Cuban Americans. Members in each of these ethnic groups have experienced differing participation rates in the various sectors of higher education. However, they share many experiences and characteristics in gaining both access and some measure of choice to postsecondary educational opportunities.

Chairman Paul Simon first conceived this project when he reviewed data on the *Condition of Education for Hispanic Americans* (NCES) by Michael A. Olivas, who presented part of this data in testimony before the Subcommittee in 1982. The principal purpose of the Hispanic Access to Higher Education hearings was to gain a better understanding of the problems and to document the need, with a view toward modifying student assistance programs and the programs for Special Services to Disadvantaged Students during reauthorization of the Higher Education Act. These changes could be implemented in order to improve opportunities in higher education for Hispanic Americans.

On March 22, 1984 Chairman Simon introduced H.R. 5240, The Higher Education Act Amendments of 1984 which included several legislative changes directed specifically at issues which had been presented to the Subcommittee during 1982 and 1983. These changes included: 1) modification of the Title III, Institutional Aid Program to provide direct assistance to institutions with large concentrations of Hispanic students; 2) a specific setaside for programs serving Hispanic students in the TRIO Program in order to insure that new TRIO funding would be spent on special services programs at institutions with large concentrations of Hispanic students; 3) a special emphasis in the Teacher Preparation (Title V) Programs on elementary and secondary schools which serve Hispanic students and a special forgiveness feature for students who teach in schools with large numbers of Hispanic students; and 4) increased funding for the Graduate and Professional·Opportunities Program (G*POP) in order to fund more graduates and professional study opportunities for Hispanic college graduates who wish to pursue study in fields in which Hispanics are underrepresented.

Although H.R. 5240 was not enacted during the 2nd Session of the 98th Congress, many of the issues raised during the Subcommittee's hearings and incorporated in H.R. 5240 will be before the Congress during reauthorization in the 99th Congress. This Staff Report is prepared in order to provide a concise discussion of the issues brought before the Subcommittee during its hearings, in order that Members of the Committee on Education and Labor would have a comprehensive, but brief document to review during consideration of various reauthorization proposals during the 99th Congress.

This staff report "HISPANIC ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION: STATUS REPORT AND ANALYSIS" was prepared by José E. Cruz, a Congressional Hispanic Caucus Fellow under the supervision of William A. Blakey, Counsel and Staff Director to the Subcommittee. Mr. Cruz' analysis of the issues and his extensive research should be of assistance to those interested in postsecondary educational opportunities for minorities, especially Hispanic Americans.

I. Executive Summary

STATUS REPORT

Key issues affecting Hispanic participation in higher education

1. Access

Although Hispanic Americans are the fastest growing minority in the United States, they remain underrepresented in higher education institutions. While total Hispanic enrollment increased three times and institutional representation rose by close to 200 percent between 1970 and 1980, at present, Hispanics constitute 6.4 percent of the population but only 3.7 percent of undergraduate, 2.2 percent of graduate, and 2.3 percent of professional school enrollment. In this regard, Hispanics fare worse than Blacks and when compared to Asians their status is even worse.

Both the testimony presented before the Subcommittee during the 97th and the 98th Congresses, as well as additional staff research, support the conclusion that localized gains have been offset by general trends. For example, increased enrollment at the community college level has not resulted in an increase in the award of baccalaureate degrees. Discrimination and shifts and dislocations within the economy have had a negative impact on Hispanics in the form of unemployment and underemployment through overeducation.

2. Retention

Of those Hispanics who enter college only a minority graduate and as participation reaches higher levels, the number of participants decreases to a minimal fraction. In 1980, Hispanics earned 2.3 percent of all bachelors' degrees awarded in the United States and the District of Columbia. In the Chicago-Gary metropolitan area, Hispanics were 4 percent of the total college enrollment and only 2 percent of college graduates in 1978. In 1980, the estimated attrition rate in Chicago was 43 percent. In California, the 1980 census shows that 2.7 percent of all college graduates were Hispanic, although Hispanics represent almost 20 percent of the state population. In 1980–81, Hispanics received 3 percent of all doctorate degrees conferred. This shows a higher participation rate at the doctorate than at the bachelors' level for that year. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the percentage of Hispanic graduate students is lower than of undergraduates; and that proportionally, the number of bachelors' and doctorate degrees earned was extremely low for Hispanics. The ratio of doctorate to bachelors' degrees earned in Business Administration in 1980–81 for whites was 1 to 281; for Hispanics it was 1 to 2,000.

3. Transition

At present, a majority of Hispanics attend community colleges. These students, generally, neither transfer nor receive undergraduate, graduate, and professional degrees. This demonstrates the need for: a) improved community college instruction; b) better counseling services; c) efficient coordination between two- and four-year institutions; and d) continued and increased fiscal support.

Current financial aid policies have reduced Hispanic access to sources of student aid. This is a consequence of a) an enlarged pool of applicants in a context of constant or declining resources; b) increasingly complex application procedures; and c) stricter eligibility requirements.

When support programs and services are available, these are efficiently used and achieve a great deal of success. But only a fraction of the students who need assistance and/or services actually obtain them. This is due to a) the mismatch between resource allocation and need; b) the absence of outreach programs; and c) the lack of supportive environments both at two- and four-year institutions.

Puerto Rico

The overwhelming number of Hispanics enrolled in four-year institutions are not Mexican-Americans in the Southwest, but Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico. Compared to the mainland, the roles of public and private postsecondary institutions in the island are essentially reversed. Moreover, almost the entire Puerto Rican higher education system *depends* on federal funding—86 percent of students depend on Pell Grants, Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants (SEOG), National Direct Student Loans (NDSL), and College Work Study (CWS). Consequently, it is clear that Puerto Rico requires separate and special treatment.

Basic premises

The testimony presented to the Subcommittee includes over 50 specific recommendations. These address the issue of access as well as its corollaries, such as transition, retention, faculty and institutional development. They represent the consensus of a host of university administrators, faculty members, researchers, students and concerned individuals representing the Hispanic community across the country from San Juan to Sacramento and from Illinois to Texas.

The first and basic guarantee of access is financial aid. The maintenance and expansion of Pell Grants, Guaranteed Student Loans (GSL), SEOG's, CWS, and other financial aid programs is crucial to both mainland and island Hispanics. Student services provided by special programs such as TRIO, HEP-CAMP et al. are also deemed essential. It is considered that special requirements that would turn Pell Grants and TRIO programs from *student* into *institutional* assistance programs should be curbed. Moreover, the establishment of Pell Grants as an entitlement for the most needy was suggested.

In addition to the suggestion that grants rather than loans should be the major source of financial aid, other forms of financial assistance were strongly recommended. Minority fellowships, schol-

arships, grants, and stipends should be used to recruit and fund graduate and undergraduate students to teach and/or counsel at community colleges and high schools.

Policies and procedures currently used to target funds for minority students must be reexamined. Specifically, eligibility criteria for financial aid to working part-time students should be revised in order to expand benefits. There should be a higher ceiling for cost of attendance provisions and the "half-cost" provision should be either eliminated or substantially modified.

Recommendations

In terms of the Higher Education Act itself, the following recommendations were made.

Title I, section A, should be strengthened. Section B should provide additional funding and require collaboration with community based organizations.

Title II, part A, Title III, and Title IV, subparts 4 and 5 should also be strengthened. Title IV should include tutorial services.

Title V and VII were considered in need of extra support. Funding for training of teachers in Math and Science should be contemplated in Title V.

There should be increased funding for Title X and FIPSE.

Other specific recommendations included:

The institution of recruitment programs at the university level.

Granting of subsidies to counter rising costs and offset tuition costs.

Provision of funds to be matched with funds from the private sector.

Provision of special grants and incentives to schools engaged in outreach.

A federally supported National Hispanic Visiting Professors program.

Creation of a Hispanic initiative modeled on the initiative for Historically Black Colleges and based on the experience of Hispanic institutions such as Boricua College in New York and St. Augustine in Illinois.

Reincorporation of a community college title to improve community college instruction, staff development, and transition to four-year institutions.

Support of a consortia of mainland universities serving areas with significant Hispanic populations and their island counterparts. Efforts in this regard are already underway. A faculty development arrangement between Fordham University and the Ana G. Mendez Foundation in Puerto Rico could be used as a case study and policy model in this area.

The recommendations that follow should inform the *general content* of legislative and policy decisions.

Programs authorized by the Higher Education Act should be monitored to determine whether there is sufficient emphasis on equity. Funding should be based on audits of actual performance.

Incentives should be developed for universities to strengthen guidance, counseling, and training programs; and to encourage cooperative efforts between high schools and universities as well as between two- and four-year institutions.

All of the above recommendations apply to Puerto Rico. Nevertheless it is important to emphasize that the Federal government must recognize the island's local governance arrangements in operating and managing coherent and efficient systems of postsecondary education, while maintaining and expanding the levels of fiscal support, according to need. At present, the financial aid system rewards institutions with high fees and penalizes institutions with low fees. It is also clear that the "self-help" modification of Pell Grants would hurt Puerto Rico. A high unemployment rate combined with poor transportation would put an excessive burden on needy students and could curtail access altogether.

Finally, and this applies to both mainland and island Hispanics, it is considered crucial that problems related to the transition between secondary and postsecondary levels be thoroughly and periodically examined. To this effect a sustained effort must be made to increase and improve gathering of disaggregated demographic and education data.

ANALYSIS

Societal factors influencing access

1. Migration

The migratory experience has played a key role for Hispanics in the United States.

Migration is an international process involving investment decisions, political interactions, and individual choices. Among Hispanics the choices—and the contexts in which these have been made—are diverse. Nevertheless, historically, they have entered and continued to enter this country as a component of a pool of cheap labor for agriculture, industry, and services. If, in general, they are at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder, this is so because that is where the migratory process directs them.

This fact also explains the nature of Hispanics' spatial patterns, destination, and flow. These in turn influence the capacity of individuals to be upwardly mobile. The number of job opportunities in a given area, the availability of inexpensive housing, and transportation linkages between country of origin, host country, work and residence, influence the spatial patterns of immigrants. More often than not, the resulting settlements tend to be segregated from the mainstream of the society, and this in turn contributes to segregation in education and other areas as well.

2. Technology: New skills, new demands

The United States is currently in the early stages of a technological revolution, which emphasizes the growth of new industries and a decline in "smokestack" industries. Automation of numerous manufacturing entities, and the rapid decline of these industries, has resulted in blue-collar unemployment. These developments, coupled with mixed results in assuring Hispanic access to higher

education, may relegate Hispanic high school graduates to low-wage service industry jobs.

Studies show that a large proportion of the workers who lose their jobs as a result of plant closings take years to recover their lost earnings and often do not find comparable work at all. There is considerable social disruption as a consequence of de-industrialization. Workers and families suffer serious physical and emotional problems when faced with shutdowns and prolonged unemployment. Communities lose a source of revenue and this, at best, hampers their capacity to provide services and, at worst, drives them to the brink of bankruptcy.

3. Employment and income levels

In 1980, 45.5 percent of the total Hispanic population were blue-collar workers. Hispanics, therefore, are among the hardest hit by current economic changes. At present, the income levels of Hispanics are approximately 70 percent of the income levels for the general population, which is bascially the same income differential that existed 14 years ago. In 1980, 23.8 percent of all Hispanics were considered to be living below poverty levels, although for Hispanics under 18 years old the rate of poverty is 38.2 percent compared to 17.3 percent for Anglos. Among Hispanics, 25.8 percent of "Other Hispanic" families (immigrants from Central and South America, Spain and the Canary Islands) have incomes of $25,000 or more while 23.5 percent of Puerto Rican families have incomes of less than $5,000 per year.

4. Secondary schooling

Hispanic youth are suffering from undereducation. Their educational needs are not understood or met; their aspirations remain unrecognized and their potential stunted.

Hispanic students have a much higher high school dropout rate than white students. According to the High School and Beyond survey, 18 percent of high school sophomores who are Hispanic leave school before graduating, while 12 percent of white sophomores do so. The dropout rates of Puerto Rican and Mexican-American sophomores are even higher—23 and 21 percent, respectively. Since as many as 40 percent of Hispanic students drop out of school *before* completing their sophomore year, the High School and Beyond survey results understate the extent of student withdrawal. Reportedly Hispanic dropout rates in large cities are even higher.

In terms of high school grades, academic preparation, background and educational characteristics, Hispanics who graduate in general are less qualified than non-minority graduates.

In the 1983–84 academic year, 59 percent of white Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) takers reported earning a grade-point average of 3.0 or better compared to 52 percent of Mexican-Americans and 45 percent of Puerto Ricans. Hispanic SAT test takers were almost 14 percent less likely than white test takers to have been enrolled in college preparatory programs during high school. Ninety-five percent of white students taking the SAT had studied English and 67 percent had studied mathematics for four or more years. The respective proportions for Mexican-Americans were 90 and 53 per-

cent; and for Puerto Ricans 90 and 51 percent. A small but significant portion of Hispanic test takers—10 percent of Puerto Ricans and 8 percent of Mexican-Americans—answered "No" to the question: "Is English your best language?" In and by themselves these figures are low. But compared to the proportion for whites—a little under 2 percent—they are very significant. Furthermore, sociolinguistic research suggests that those who maintain that English is their best language could still manifest limited proficiency with English occurring in academic settings.

Hispanic high school students are in need of specialized programs of services aimed at a) reducing the drop-out rate; and b) increasing college admissions and college achievement. If this need is not met at the secondary level, the present trend of stagnation/deterioration will be perpetuated at the postsecondary level.

II. Status Report

A. Key issues affecting Hispanic participation in higher education Access, Retention, and Transition

The condition of Hispanics in higher education should be the focus of Congressional attention. Hispanic-Americans remain severely underrepresented in higher education institutions—as students, faculty, and administrators.

In 1970, there were fewer than 100,000 Spanish-surnamed undergraduate students in America's colleges and universities. In that year there were approximately 6,000 Spanish-surnamed students enrolled in the nation's graduate and professional schools. In 1970, less than 500 Hispanics were on the faculties of higher education institutions. [1]

In 1980, the total enrollment of Hispanics in institutions of higher education, both public and private was 471,717.[2] According to the American Council on Education (ACE) 1984 report, *Minorities in Higher Education*, 1,636 U.S. born Hispanics were employed in academe in 1979.

These figures represent an improvement which is reflective of the efforts of Hispanics to better their situation and of federal, state and private efforts, to promote access. In relative terms, however, they are small improvements. As a ratio of white-Hispanic enrollment, however, the figures for the period 1975 to 1980 reflect a deterioration in status. During that period, the college enrollment rate of the white population remained steady at about 26 percent while the rate for Hispanics declined from about 20 to 16 percent. (Table #1.) Although the number of Hispanic faculty increased by close to 200 percent between 1970 and 1979, total Hispanic faculty remained below 1,700 persons, out of a community of approximately 170,000 professors and nearly 20 million Hispanics. At present Hispanics constitute 6.4 percent of the population but only 3.7 percent of undergraduate, 2.7 percent of graduate, and 3.1 percent of professional school enrollment. In this regard Hispanics fare worse than Blacks and when compared to Asians fare no better. Asians comprise 1.4 percent of the population compared to 2.3 percent of undergraduate, 2.2 percent of graduate, and 2.2 percent of professional school enrollment.[3]

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[1] Testimony of Arturo Madrid, Professor, University of Minnesota, before the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, "Hispanics Access to Higher Education", September 16, 1982, 97th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 17.

[2] National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), *Digest of Education Statistics 1983-84*, 1984, p. 100.

[3] Anne S. Pruitt, *Survey of Minority Graduate Education*, Report prepared for the Council of Graduate Schools in the U.S. (Graduate School, Ohio State University, 1984), pp. 40, 41.

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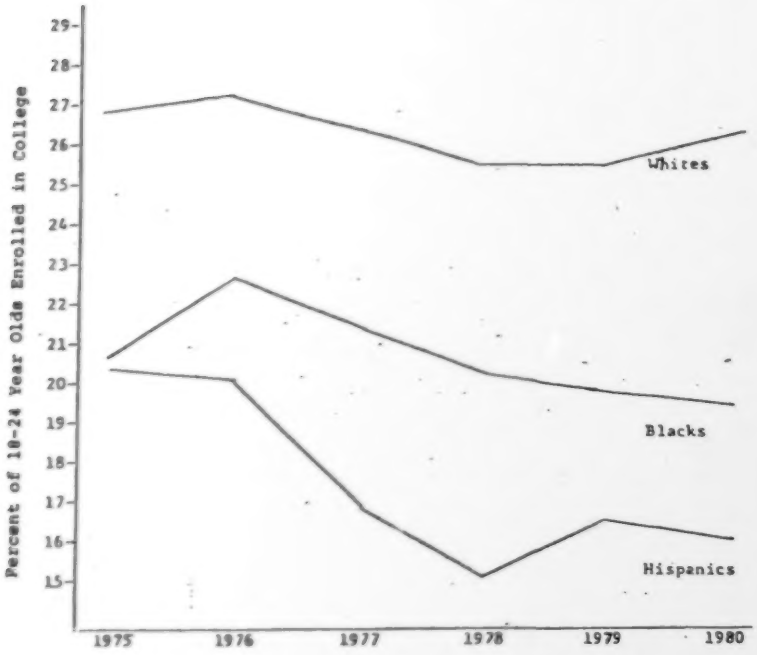
TABLE I

Percent of 18-24 Year Olds Enrolled in College, by Race/Ethnic Group, by Year



Source: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Surveys, November Surveys, 1975-1980

Once disaggregated these figures become even more dramatic. For example, according to Jose Hernandez:

> [During the course of research conducted between 1979 and 1982] . . . no significant improvement was found from 1960 to 1976 in the educational completion rates of Puerto Ricans, beyond advances basic to the U.S. total population. In fact, the percentage of Puerto Ricans with a college degree was about the same in 1976 as in 1960, and represented only a small fraction of this group's adult population.[4]

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[4] Testimony of Dr. Jose Hernandez, Latino Institute, before the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, "Hispanic Access to Higher Education", December 12, 1983, 98th Congress, 1st Session, p. 504.

TABLE 2.—BACHELOR'S, MASTER'S AND DOCTOR'S DEGREES CONFERRED TO HISPANICS, BLACKS AND WHITES IN BUSINESS MANAGEMENT, COMPUTER AND INFORMATION SCIENCES, AND ENGINEERING: UNITED STATES—1980–81

Field of study	B.A.'s	M.A.'s	Ph.D.'s
	Hispanics		
Business and management (B&M)	4,114	869	2
Computer and information sciences (C&IS)	302	60	
Engineering (Eng.)	1,433	278	23
	Blacks		
B&M	13,400	2,359	32
C&IS	786	70	1
Eng	2,449	260	24
	Whites		
B&M	174,198	47,474	619
C&IS	12,565	2,818	184
Eng	60,848	10,147	1,352

Source: National Center For Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics 1983–84

In 1983 the faculty at the City Colleges of Chicago was composed of 1,281 persons. Of these, 866 were white; 323 Black; 68 Asian; and 24 Hispanic (this includes counselors). When the City College System was founded in 1966, only 7 Hispanic faculty were employed.[5] Thus, in 17 years, the number of Hispanic faculty increased at a rate of one new member per year while for Blacks the rate was about 17 new members per year. Since Hispanic counselors are counted as faculty, the *actual* increase rate is even lower.

It is well-known that a majority of Hispanic students enroll in two-year rather than four-year programs. In 1980, 255,084 Hispanics enrolled in two-year institutions from a total of 471,717 students enrolled. (NCES: 1984: 100) In the Fall of 1982 there were 145,855 Hispanics enrolled in California's community colleges, which represents over 50 percent of the total nationwide.[6] Two problems which seem to be intrinsic to this development stand out.

Hispanics have had "free" access to community colleges, limited access to the California State University System, and minimum access to the University of California System.[7] The statement of James M. Rosser, President of California State University, Los Angeles, followed the same lines:

> The majority of all minority college students are now enrolled in two-year institutions that collectively have a poor record of developing future recipients of undergraduate, graduate and professional degrees. (Hearings 98th Congress, p. 551)

This suggests that outside academe Hispanics are limited to employment for which a college degree is not necessary. There is evidence that supports a more positive assessment of Hispanic enrollment in community colleges. A survey done by Larry Eastland & Associates, Inc., a Connecticut firm specializing in governmental affairs polls, found that over 86 percent of the respondents rated community colleges as excellent to good on the quality of job/career education they provide.[8]

Secondly, a predicted general enrollment decline for community colleges for the year 1984–85 is already occurring. Of 14 states with more than 100,000 students enrolled in credit courses, California, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, and Virginia are predicting or have actually experienced enrollment decreases. The problem is associated with the decrease in 18 to 20 year olds in the United States.

Hispanics, however, are a growing component of the population. The median age, is 8 to 10 years less than other racial/ethnic groups. Consequently, a continued absolute decline in enrollment will not necessarily translate into a decline in enrollment of Hispanics. Such was the case in 1982–83 in California where, while the total enrollment for community colleges declined, Hispanic enrollment continued to increase.[9]

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[5] Argo, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 538.
[6] Hayward, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 567.
[7] Ramirez, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 553.
Since these hearings were held, the State government required the community colleges in California to institute a fee, and therefore Hispanics, along with all students, must now pay.
[8] Avila, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 557.
[9] Hayward, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 568.

Since there is a positive relationship between levels of total enrollment, the quality of education and the quantity and scope of institutional services, declines in total enrollment are bound to have a negative impact upon Hispanics above other sectors of the student population. Cutbacks in federal and state assistance will undoubtedly make the situation worse. In California this has been the case already since community colleges were struck with 24 percent of all cuts statewide, even though they received only 4 percent of the total state budget.[10]

In summary, Hispanics will become the largest component of community colleges in their States in a context of drastically reduced revenues, less faculty, and minimum student assistnace and services.

There is a third problem which relates both to access in general and to the massive concentration of Hispanics in two-year institutions. Current financial aid policies have had a retrogressive impact on what has been accomplished during the past 20 years in terms of access. The expansion of the pool of eligible applicants in a context of constant, and in some instances declining, resources has resulted in the shrinkage of financial aid through rationing. This is done through the following mechanisms:

Earlier application deadlines.—Families are given very little time to gather information, fill out the forms and meet the filing deadlines.

Student contributions.—More resources are expected from the student—not only in the traditional form of summer earnings but now also in "term-time" earnings.

Threshold packaging.—Applicants must establish a minimum need after the parent and student contribution and other resources have been substracted from the student expense budget.

Gap packaging.—Once the applicant passes the threshold and qualifies for campus based aid his/her need is compared to the need of the total applicant pool and may thus end up receiving less aid than their demonstrated need. (Villa, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 582)

On the other hand, the "inability of non-traditional . . . students to successfully compete against students better versed with bureaucratic processes",[11] has in fact made existing resources unavailable. For example, in Chicago, in the Fall of 1981, 37 percent of all Hispanics enrolled as undergraduates applied for financial assistance and only 26 percent of the applicants actually received some.[12] It is probable that among the excluded 11 percent there was a genuine need for assistance which was not met because of inadequate and/or unavailable counseling services.

Low retention among Hispanics is essentially related to socio-economic factors. There are economic pressures on Hispanics which frequently force them to drop out of college. According to Extended Opportunity Programs and Services statistics, in California, full-time Hispanic students show higher retention rates than part-time

[10] Avila, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 556.
[11] Apodaca, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 626.
[12] Romero, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 528.

students; the latter usually are workers who either must support themselves or must contribute to the family income. On the other hand, because of lack of familiarity with financial aid procedures, existing resources sometimes are not utilized by Hispanics. In this regard, counseling services are crucial both before and after entering college. But these services are usually scarce and not specifically oriented to Hispanic students. Thus, even students who do receive services find themselves at a disadvantage because of language and/or cultural problems that are not properly addressed.

According to Jose Roberto Juarez, Jr., from the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund (MALDEF), in 1976, 21.3 percent of Hispanic students transferred from two to four-year institutions. In 1979, only 15.5 percent did so. In 1982, the University of Texas at Austin enrolled only 510 Hispanic students as undergraduate transfers, comprising only 8.74 percent of the total transfers. In California, first time minority students comprised 26.8 percent of the student population at the community college districts, but average only 6 percent of the transfers to the University of California system and only 7.4 percent of the transfers to the California State University System. The comparable figures for whites are 65.5, 75.5 and 71.2 percent respectively.[13]

The reasons for these low rates are very similar to the reasons why significant numbers of Hispanic students choose two-years institutions in the first place.

First of all, attending a four-year institution presumes at least twice as much financial resources. The 1980 Census data has demonstrated that Hispanics in the 18 to 24 age cohort earn one-third less than their white counterparts. Once enrolled in two-year institutions transition is made difficult given the lack of counseling regarding courses eligible for transfer, the difficult admission standards set by four-year institutions, and the inadequate academic instruction that students receive at some community colleges. The latter factor is compounded by the lack of academic support for transferees in four-year institutions.

B. Puerto Rico

In Puerto Rico the question of access is, in the words of Congressman Pat Williams, "turned on its head".[14] Not only has the island made great strides in the promotion of access but, the increasing flow of students has been mostly absorbed by the private sector. In Puerto Rico access is a secondary problem. In 1968 there were 47,308 students enrolled in higher education institutions. This number rose to 151,893 in 1983, an increase of over 300 percent in 15 years.

The main problems are *quality education*—insuring that high standards are observed, that deficiencies brought from the secondary level do not become a catalyst for a revolving door syndrome or the cause of mediocre outputs; *physical facilities*—having enough buildings to accommodate a growing student body, library services, and laboratory equipment; *staff development*—the need to hire more faculty and to provide opportunities for research; and *learn*

[13] Juarez, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 444.
[14] Williams, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 113.

financial resources. The latter is the most pressing problem. It is very difficult to secure low interest loans in the island. There are no significant endowment resources; the largest one is not more than $4 million. And private sources of funding have no interest and incentive to donate for education. According to Ramon Cruz, President of Inter American University, corporations in the island claim not to be able to donate because they are branch units. But when University officials visit the main offices of the same corporations, these claim that Puerto Rico is of no concern to them since it is not part of the United States.[15]

Remedial services are needed by a vast majority of students entering the private sector. There is a similar need in the public sector, but here the strong emphasis on academic qualifications has minimized the problem.

The most important difference between Purto Rico and the mainland is the degree to which the island's system of higher education depends on federal funding. Ismael Almodovar, President of the University of Puerto Rico, has stated that if federal funds for private universities stopped flowing:

> . . . that would mean a tremendous pressure on the state government to provide access to the 80,000 or so students that are in accredited [private] institutions. It would be chaos. (Hearings 98th Congress, p. 50)

This assessment is shared by Jose Mendez, President of the Ana G. Mendez Educational Foundation:

> . . . the economy of Puerto Rico is suffering the worst economic crisis since the beginning of industrial development in the early 1950's. Thus, if educational opportunity is curtailed, many current and prospective students will swell the unemployment rolls or *emigrate to the mainland without adequate academic preparation.*
>
> Without federal financial aid, the entire higher education system on the island would collapse. (Hearings 98th Congress, p. 56, emphasis added)

Seventy-eight percent of $11.1 million awarded in aid in 1983 at the University of Puerto Rico Mayaguez campus came from federal sources. Sixty-six percent came from Pell (Basic Education Opportunity) Grants.[16] At Ponce Technological University College of 1,555 students enrolled for the academic year 1982–83, 96 percent received Pell Grants. Of the total monies distributed in financial aid between August 1982 and April 1983, 90 percent came from federal grants.[17] The Medical Science Campus of the University of Puerto Rico receives 66 percent of its financial aid funds from federal sources.[18] At Catholic University, of the 12,109 undergraduate students enrolled for 1982–83, 94.6 percent were beneficiaries of Pell grants and 23 percent were beneficiaries of federal loans under GSL, NDSL, and nursing student loan programs.[19]

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[15] Cruz, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 92.
[16] Alemany, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 301.
[17] Perez, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 336.
[18] Maldonado, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 121.
[19] Rivera, Hearings 98th Congress, p. 320.

Although there are approximately 30 private accredited postsecondary institutions and one major state university with eleven campuses located throughout the island, those mentioned here are the most important with an enrollment of 117,294 students for 1982–83.

C. Basic Premises

Legislative and policy decisions to be taken during the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act of 1965 must be based on the following premises:

Research over the past 30 years has demonstrated that higher education contributes significantly to students' cognitive, emotional, and moral development, to their economic productivity and effectiveness as consumers, and to their family life, leisure-time activities, and health.

While the responsibility for excellence in higher education falls on academic institutions, the responsibility for supplementing and reinforcing state and private efforts falls on the federal government.

Significant differences within the Hispanic population warrant an accordingly differentiated approach in legislative and policy-making efforts, especially with a view toward the trickle-down effects of national policies and legislation on State and local governments and public and private institutions. This is crucial in regards to island Puerto Ricans who, although they share some characteristics with mainland Hispanics, require separate treatment and special consideration.

D. Recommendations

It is important that before listing specific recommendations we restate some basic findings regarding Hispanics' access to higher education:

There is a need for an improvement of community college instruction and counseling. More and better coordination between two and four-year institutions is also essential as well as continued and increased fiscal support.

Current financial aid policies have reduced Hispanic access to sources of student aid. This is a consequence of a) an enlarged pool of applicants in a context of constant or declining resources and b) increasingly complex application procedures as well as stricter eligibility requirements which act as a barrier to access for Hispanics.

When support programs and services are available these are efficiently used and achieve a great deal of success. But only a fraction of the students who need assistance and/or services are actually being served. This is due to a) the mismatch between resource allocation and need; b) the absence of outreach programs; and c) the lack of supportive environments both at two and four-year institutions.

While gains have been made in terms of institutional representation, faculty development still fares poorly. The proportion of Hispanic faculty is still too low as compared to both the professional and the Hispanic communities.

Because, a) the overwhelming number of Hispanics enrolled in four-year institutions are Puerto Ricans *in Puerto Rico;* b) the roles of public and private postsecondary institutions are essentially *reversed* in the island (Memorandum for Chairman Simon, "Higher Education in Puerto Rico", May 24, 1983, Hearings 98th Congress, pp. 100–101); and c) the entire higher education system *depends* on federal funding—86 percent of students at private universities need financial aid and 75 percent of students depend on Pell Grants, SEOG, NDSL, and CWS (Mendez: Hearings 98th Congress, p. 56), Puerto Rico deserves separate and special treatment.

The testimony presented to the Subcommittee includes over 50 specific recommendations. These address the issue of access as well as its corollaries, such as transition, retention, faculty and institutional development. They represent the consensus of a host of university administrators, faculty members, researchers, students and concerned individuals representing the Hispanic community across the country from San Juan to California and from Chicago to Texas.

The first and basic guarantee of access is financial aid. The maintenance and expansion of Pell Grants, GSL's, SEOG's, CWS, and other aid is crucial to both mainland and island Hispanics. Student services provided by special programs such as TRIO, HEP-CAMP et al. are also deemed essential. It is considered that special requirements that would turn Pell Grants and TRIO programs from *student* into *institutional* assistance programs should be curbed. Moreover, the establishment of Pell Grants as an entitlement for the most needy was suggested.

In addition to the suggestion that grants rather than loans should be the major source of financial aid, other forms of financial assistance were strongly recommended. Minority fellowships, scholarships, grants, and stipends should be used to recruit and fund graduate and undergraduate students to teach and/or counsel at community colleges and high schools.

Policies and procedures currently used to target funds for minority students must be reexamined. Specifically, eligibility criteria for financial aid to working part-time students should be revised in order to expand benefits. There should be a higher ceiling for cost of attendance provisions and the "half-cost" provision should be either eliminated or substantially modified.

In terms of the Higher Education Act itself, the following recommendations were made:

Title I, section A should be strengthened. Section B should provide additional funding and require collaboration with community based organizations.

Title II, part A, Title III, and Title IV, subparts 4 and 5 should also be strengthened. Title IV should include tutorial services.

Title V and VII were considered in need of extra support. Funding for training of teachers in math and science should be contemplated in Title V.

There should be increased funding for Title X and FIPSE.

Other specific recommendations included:

The institution of recruitment programs at the university level.

Granting of subsidies to counter rising costs and offset tuition costs.

Provision of funds to be matched with funds from the private sector.

Provision of special grants and incentives to schools engaged in outreach.

A federally supported National Hispanic Visiting Professors program.

Creation of a Hispanic initiative modeled on the initiative for Historically Black Colleges and based on the experience of Hispanic institutions such as Boricua College in New York and St. Augustine in Illinois.

Reincorporation of a community college title to improve community college instruction, staff development, and transition to four-year institutions.

Support of a consortia of mainland universities serving areas with significant Hispanic populations and their island counterparts. Efforts in this regard are already underway. A faculty development arrangement between Fordham University and the Ana G. Mendez Foundation in Puerto Rico could be used as a case study and policy model in this area.

The recommendations that follow should inform the *general content* of legislative and policy decisions:

Programs authorized by the Higher Education Act should be monitored to determine whether there is sufficient emphasis on equity. Funding should be based on audits of actual performance.

Incentives should be developed for universities to strengthen guidance, counseling, and training programs; and to encourage cooperative efforts between high schools and universities as well as between two- and four-year institutions.

As far as Puerto Rico is concerned, all of the above recommendations apply.

At present, the financial aid system rewards institutions with high fees and penalizes institutions with low fees. And it is clear that the "self-help" modification of Pell Grants would hurt Puerto Rico. A high unemployment rate combined with poor transportation would put an excessive burden on needy students if not curtailing access altogether.

Finally, and this applies to both mainland and island Hispanics, it is considered crucial that problems related to the transition between secondary and postsecondary levels be thoroughly and periodically examined. To this effect a sustained effort must be made to increase and improve gathering of disaggregated demographic and education data.

III. ANALYSIS

A. Societal Factors Influencing Access

1. Migration

The migratory experience has played a key role for Hispanics in the United States.

The migration of Hispanics to the United States is a twentieth century phenomenon. While it is possible to refer to *the* migratory experience, there is no uniform migratory process nor a study that integrates, in all its complexity, the different aspects of this movement. There are studies, however, of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban migration and it is in these individual, yet shared experiences, that commonalities can be inferred.[20]

Six general factors appear to explain the spatial patterns of Hispanic migrants. They are:

> Communication channels between point of origin and destination; preference for a Hispanic social/cultural milieu; legal conditions; job opportunities, wages and working conditions; transportation linkages; labor contracting patterns.

Communication channels between point of origin and destination.—This is a weak force in the sense that it mainly directs, through communication networks, migrants to certain initial points from which they then move on.

Preference for a Hispanic social/cultural milieu.—Research has found that Mexican-Americans formerly residing in the lower Rio Grande Valley in Texas, now living in Chicago, were much more likely to return home than were former residents now living in San Antonio. In California and Miami, Mexicans and Cubans find climatic amenities and less discrimination than in other parts of the country. Puerto Ricans find a greater degree of moral support and political representation in New York and Chicago than in the Southwest and, as far as climatic amenities are concerned, they can travel freely between New York, Chicago, and San Juan.

Legal conditions.—For Puerto Ricans, citizenship and the governmental program already mentioned account for migration and destination. Because of their legal status vis-a-vis Cubans and Mexicans, Puerto Ricans can, theoretically speaking, settle anywhere. Mexicans, however, must pay greater attention to other legal con-

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[20] Barberis, Mary, 1982, "Hispanic America", *Congressional Quarterly*, Editorial Research Reports, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 551-568; Center for Puerto Rican Studies, City University of New York, 1979, *Labor Migration Under Capitalism: The Puerto Rican Experience* (New York: Monthly Review Press) and 1982, *Sources for the Study of Puerto Rican Migration 1879-1930* (Puerto Rico: Graficor); Clark, Juan M., 1975, "The Exodus From Revolutionary Cuba (1959-1974): A Sociological Analysis", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida; Jones, Richard C., 1982, "Channelization of Undocumented Mexican Migrants to the U.S.", *Economic Geography*, vol. 58, April, pp. 156-176; Kissee-Sandoval, Catherine J., 1984, Hispanic Access to Higher Education: *A Case Study of The Ivy League and Sister Colleges*, (Yale Scholars of the House Project, May, pp. 54-65 section on Cuban migration); Lopez, Adalberto, ed., 1980, *The Puerto Ricans, Their History, Culture, and Society* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Co.); Lopez y Rivas, Gilberto, 1979, *Conquest and Resistance: The Origins of the Chicano National Minority* (Palo Alto, California: R & E Research Associates); Llanes, Jose, 1982, *Cuban Americans: Masters of Survival* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Abt Books), pp. ix-xiv; 1-4; 195-229; Maldonado-Denis, Manuel, 1980, *The Emigration Dialectic: Puerto Rico and the USA* (New York: International Publishers); Ropka, Gerald William, 1980, *The Evolving Residential Pattern of the Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban Population in the City of Chicago* (New York: Arno Press); and Tienda, Marta, 1980, "Familism and Structural Assimilation of Mexican Immigrants in the United States", *International Migration Review*, vol. 14, Fall, pp. 383-408.

ditions such as civil rights enforcement, availability of educational services, and restrictions on the use of public services.

Job opportunities, wages and working conditions.—A superior economic environment, as reflected in large numbers of jobs available, high wages, and good treatment by employers, is a major factor in the nature of spatial arrangements. This explains why the Sunbelt keeps attracting large numbers of Mexican migrants who either go back and forth or eventually settle in the region, while New York City lost a substantial number of Puerto Rican residents to Chicago and San Juan—via return migration—in the mid and late sixties.

Transportation linkages.—Rail connections forged between Central Mexico and Texas in the early 1880's largely determined the destination of migrants. During the 20th century Mexican migrant communities grew up in southern Colorado, in Missouri, and elsewhere along the major trunk routes leading north and northeast from El Paso.

During the 19th century, commercial transactions between Puerto Rico and the U.S. took place via the sea route between San Juan and New York, and it was in New York where a number of Puerto Rican merchants settled to conduct their business. In the 1940's the Puerto Rican government requested the Federal Aviation Administration for reduced air transportation fares between San Juan and New York thus establishing an air link with the mainland that directed thousands of Puerto Ricans to the city.

Cubans also migrated to New York via the available sea routes in the 19th century. An air link between Havana and Miami channeled the large wave of migration following the Cuban Revolution. This link was interrupted in 1962, reestablished in 1965, and discontinued again in 1973. It was not until April 1980 that a new transportation link was established: the "Mariel boatlift", which brought over 125,000 Cubans to the State of Florida.

Labor contracting patterns.—Mexican migrants not only used the railroads to arrive at their points of destination: they also *built* the railroads. Also in the 1940's, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico instituted a program to manage the recruitment of Puerto Rican laborers which regulated their shipment into states such as South Carolina, Vermont, Connecticut, and New Jersey. Labor shortages in the garment industry and the service sector also attracted large numbers of Puerto Ricans to New York.

In Chicago, some of these forces can be seen operating at the local level. Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans do not live in the same areas, and this spatial separation is largely influenced by the number of job opportunities in a given area, the availability of inexpensive housing, and tr sportation linkages between work and residence.

Mexicans are the oldest group in the city and their influx is associated with labor market fluctuations during the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's. Puerto Ricans moved in initially from New York and later on from San Juan when direct air service between San Juan and Chicago was opened in the 1960's. The influx of Cubans is associated with the pressures exerted by the wave of immigrants who have flooded the Miami area and has been directed by relocating agencies.

These settlements tend to be segregated from the mainstream of the society and this in turn contributes to the segregation of Hispanic students in the nation's public schools. Research has demonstrated that residential and school segregation reduces their chances of access to higher education by denying them a quality education and limiting the availability of related services.[21]

2. Technology: New Skills, New Demands

It must be noted that previous migrations also served as cheap labor for basic industries. These immigrants faced racial and national origin discrimination and, to some extent, were denied educational opportunities.

In his essay, "Political Access, Minority Participation, and the New Normalcy", Charles V. Hamilton writes:

> Those groups [European immigrants] began arriving in America when industrial expansion was taking off. They could not have been more timely. Periodic depressions notwithstanding, there were a continually growing private-sector economy that could accommodate, indeed welcomed, growing masses of unskilled labor.[22]

Initially, the context in which the newly arrived Hispanics saw themselves was no different. Prior to World War I, Mexicans were unofficially allowed to enter the United States to satisfy the need for cheap labor, particularly for building railroads in Arizona, California, Illinois, Nebraska, and Texas. During the Depression of the 1930's, when jobs were scarce, even citizens of Mexican descent were repatriated. During World War II they were welcome again, only to be expelled later, in the 1950's in a government campaign. The tide of Purerto Rican migration was absorbed by the industrial and service sector of the economy which, by 1950, was reaping the benefits of the post-war reorganization of the international division of labor. Of the total employed, 53.4 percent were located in the blue collar sector and 28.5 percent were service workers. (See Table 3.)

TABLE 3.—OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED MALES, BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, NEW YORK SMSA, 1950–70

Occupation	Puerto Rican			Black			Total Population		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960 [1]	1970
Total employed	50,445	136,000	153,000	187,215	233,584	358,641	2,658,143	2,842,000	2,809,000
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.2	100.0	100.1	98.8	100.0	100.0
White collar	18.0	18.1	27.2	21.4	27.0	32.5	45.9	47.9	51.0
Blue collar	53.4	61.0	51.3	50.4	50.8	47.8	41.8	41.4	36.8
Service workers	28.5	20.6	21.2	26.0	22.0	19.5	10.7	10.5	12.0
Farm workers	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.2

[1] These data do not include the "occupation-not-reported" category.

Source: 1950 U.S. Census of Population, Volume II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 32, Table 77; Special Report P-E 3D, Puerto Ricans in the Continental U.S., Table 5; 1960 U.S. Census of Population, Special Report PC(2)–1D Table 11; 1960 U.S. Census of Population, Part 34, Table 74; 1970 U.S. Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, PC(1)–C34, Tables 86 and 99.

[21] Oscar Uribe and Franco Alejandro, *Societal Forces Limiting Hispanic Student Access to Higher Education* (Hispanic Higher Education Coalition) 1983.

[22] In Leslie W. Dunbar, ed. *What Has Happened To Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, and other minorities In The Eighties* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), p. 8.

Despite rapid technological development in the post-war period, all of America's minorities were not incorporated or included in the post-war growth period. Some scholars today believe this true, even in the so-called "Reagan Economic Recovery".[33] Automation, foreign competition, capital flight, and a general shift towards services have combined to provoke growing labor displacement.

Automation is essential, in order to remain competitive, since it reduces costs while increasing productivity. As a labor saving strategy, however, its negative effect is felt in human more than economic terms. In 1980, only 31.9 percent of the total population was employed in the blue-collar sector. In 1980, 45.5 percent of the total Hispanic population were blue-collar workers. Thus, for this group automation is bound to be more significant as a displacement factor than for the population at large. In the absence of retraining, displacement leads to permanent unemployment or demotion—that is, relocation in jobs requiring lower skill levels. In both cases the end result is frozen upward mobility, restricted educational opportunities, and, consequently, confinement to poverty and deprivation.

The general transition from an industrial to a post-industrial society is characterized by the decline of basic industries in the Northeast and Midwest, and by the growth of new sectors: services, high-technology production, management and administration, and human services. The effects of this trend have been acutely felt during the 1980's by Hispanics. Because of their socio-economic position they are bound to be among the "first fired". It is unlikely that they can occupy alternative spaces in the changing labor market given their lack of preparation. Moreover, and this is a crucial factor, the successful attack on human service programs, including the so-called "safety net" programs, waged by the Reagan Administration has reduced the levels of institutional support to deal with educational handicaps and promote readjustment.

Thus the combination of a shifting economy with the relative deterioration of the educational status of this group threatens to freeze Hispanics in the initial stage of the migratory experience.

As of 1980, 53.8 percent of the Hispanic population was employed as blue-collar, clerical and farm workers. Only 18.6 percent were professional, technical, sales workers or managers and/or administrators. The comparable figures for whites were 38 and 34.9 percent; and for blacks, 47.5 and 17.4 percent respectively.[34] Historically, blue-collar, farm and clerical jobs have served as take-off points for immigrants. However, given the changes in the job structure and the lack of any real advancement by Hispanics in education during the past twenty years, it is uncertain, at best, whether Hispanics will be able to climb up the shifting socio-economic ladder. The situation is summed up by the Hispanic Policy Development Project in this way:

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[33] Dunbar, ed., 1984, p. 21.
[34] Hispanic Policy Development Project, *Hispanic Almanac 1984*, p. 30.

> There is evidence that the overall educational level has risen. Since educational achievement plays such an important role in opening doors for job search and eventual job experience, it is a positive sign that the social and economic status of Hispanics will continue to improve in the future. These encouraging signs, however positive, should not create complacency, since the high school drop-out rate and attrition at the two-year community college and four-year university levels continue to be high. (*Hispanic Almanac 1984*, p. 21)

Hispanics have moved along the stages of the migratory cycle in an acutely slow fashion. While for Europeans the migratory experience has been, in general, a path towards progressive development; for Hispanics it has been a cul-de-sac. This vicious circle, though, can be—indeed has been—broken. In that respect, much remains to be done. There will be a number of Hispanics who, in spite of significant barriers will manage to use their present positions within the labor market as stepping stones to better jobs and a better niche within the society. For most, however, the prospects are either the perpetuation of their low status, or advancement with help from much needed institutional and governmental assistance.

3. Employment and Income Levels

Hispanics are still very poor and occupy the lower positions in the labor market. In 1976 the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found that:

> Hispanic families in the United States were substantially poorer than the total population of the country. Among Hispanics, Puerto Rican families hit the bottom harder than anybody else.
>
> The median family income for 55 million families in the U.S. was $12,836. While for 2.5 million Hispanic families it was $9,559. The breakdown was: $9,498 for Mexican-American families; $11,410 for Cuban and other Hispanics; and $7,629 for Puerto Rican families.[25]

At present, the income levels of Hispanics are approximately 70 percent of the income levels for the general population, which is basically the same income differential that existed *14 years* ago.[26]

Hispanics have managed to keep pace with the changing economy. But in terms of real gains, it is evident that this group has not gained economically in relation to the general population.

The estimated median family income of Hispanics for 1979 was $14,711, and 23.8 percent of all hispanics were considered to be living below the proverty level.[27] For whites, the median family income for the same year was $20,840, and only 9.4 percent of all whites were living below the poverty level. For the total population the latter figure was 12.5 percent.

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[25] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States: An Uncertain Future*, 1976, p. 44.

[26] *Hispanic Almanac* 1984, p. 21.

[27] In its study the Hispanic Policy Development Project found that for Hispanics under 18 years old, the rate of poverty was 38.2 percent while for Anglos it was 17.3 percent.

More than half (51.9 percent) of all Americans are concentrated in the white-collar occupations; that is, professional, technical and kindred workers, non-farm managers and administrators, sales workers, and clerical and kindred workers. In contrast, Hispanics are more concentrated in the blue-collar and service occupations (61.5 percent). Puerto Ricans, for example, are mostly concentrated in the blue-collar sector (45.2 percent) and 23.5 percent of Puerto Rican families have incomes of less than $5,000 per year.[28]

4. Secondary Schooling

Let us now look at secondary schooling. This assessment is essential to an understanding of the relevance of the Higher Education Act's purpose, and the need to provide special attention for Hispanic students and the institutions which serve them.

The charts which follow provide a graphic portrait of the changing demographics, with regard to Hispanics, in higher education:

TABLE 4.—POPULATION, HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES, AND COLLEGE ENROLLMENT OF 18- TO 24-YEAR-OLDS, BY RACIAL-ETHNIC GROUP: 1970, 1975, AND 1980

[Numbers in thousands]

Racial/ethnic group and year	Population	High school graduates	College enrollment	High school graduates as a percent of population	College enrollment as a percent of population	College enrollment as a percent of high school graduates
White:						
1970	19,608	15,960	5,305	81.4	27.1	33.2
1975	22,703	18,883	6,116	83.2	26.9	32.4
1980	23,975	19,787	6,334	82.5	26.4	32.0
Black:						
1970	2,692	1,602	416	59.5	15.5	26.0
1975	3,213	2,081	655	64.8	20.7	32.0
1980	3,555	2,479	688	69.7	19.4	27.8
Hispanic:						
1970	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
1975	1,446	832	295	57.5	20.4	35.4
1980	1,962	1,054	315	53.7	16.1	29.9

[1] Not available.

Note.—Not all races are represented and categories are not discrete, in that a person in the Hispanic ethnic group may also be counted in a racial group.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Current Population Reports, "School Enrollment-Social and Economic Characteristics of Students," Series P-20, Nos. 272, 303, 362.

TABLE 5.—ENROLLMENT IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION BY RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUP AND CONTROL AND TYPE OF INSTITUTION, FALL 1978

Type and control of institution	Total [1]	White [2]	Black [2]	Hispanic	Asian or Pacific Islander	American Indian/Alaskan Native
All institutions:						
Number	11,231,172	9,194,031	1,054,371	417,271	235,064	77,873
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Public universities:						
Number	2,062,293	1,807,325	102,162	36,027	42,633	9,738
Percent	18.4	19.7	9.7	8.6	18.1	12.5
Private universities:						
Number	718,434	600,237	44,825	17,091	17,871	2,226

[28] *Hispanic Almanac 1984*, pp. 27, 37, and 38.

TABLE 5.—ENROLLMENT IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION BY RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUP AND CONTROL AND TYPE OF INSTITUTION, FALL 1978—Continued

Type and control of institution	Total [1]	White [2]	Black [2]	Hispanic	Asian or Pacific Islander	American Indian/Alaskan Native
Percent	6.4	6.5	4.3	4.1	7.6	2.9
Public other 4-year:						
Number	2,833,759	2,277,778	322,718	104,221	56,468	17,447
Percent	25.2	24.8	30.6	25.0	24.0	22.4
Private other 4-year:						
Number	1,588,220	1,341,883	142,050	33,014	20,869	5,541
Percent	14.1	14.6	13.5	7.9	8.9	7.1
Public 2-year:						
Number	3,873,690	3,050,957	414,640	222,284	96,300	41,263
Percent	34.5	33.2	39.3	53.3	41.0	53.0
Private 2-year:						
Number	154,776	115,833	27,976	4,634	923	1,618
Percent	1.4	1.3	2.7	1.1	0.4	2.1

[1] Represents the total head count for all races of students in the 50 states and DC, a difference of 31,184 from the total head count of all students because some institutions were unable to identify the race of students enrolled.
[2] Non-Hispanic.

Note.—Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Nancy B. Dearman and Valena White Plisko, National Center for Education Statistics, The Condition of Education, 1980 Edition (Washington, DC), p. 110.

In its report "A Nation at Risk", the National Commission on Excellence in Education found that:

> . . . the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people.
>
> We have even squandered the gains in student achievement made in the wake of the Sputnik challenge. Moreover, we have dismantled essential support systems which helped make those gains possible.[29]

The report does not deny that progress has been made. This is demonstrated by the fact that each generation of Americans has surpassed its parents in education, literacy, and economic achievement. While this has translated in net positive terms for the general population, such has not been the case for those who go beyond secondary education. For the population at large, the level of knowledge and preparation has risen while for those who attend college, the situation has become stagnant and stale.

The scope and nature of the problem can be synthetized as follows:

> International comparisons of student achievement, completed a decade ago, reveal that on 19 academic tests American students were never first or second and, in comparison with other industrialized nations, were last seven times.

[29] *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Education, April 1983, p. 5).

At least 40 million American adults are fuctionally illiterate by the simplest tests of everyday reading, writing, and comprehension.

About 13 percent of all 17-year-olds in the United States can be considered functionally illiterate. *Functional illiteracy among minority youth may run as high as 40 percent.*

Average achievement of high school students on most standardized tests is now lower than 26 years ago when Sputnik was launched in 1957.

Over half the population of gifted students do not match their tested ability with comparable achievement in school.

The College Board's Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) demonstrated a virtually unbroken decline from 1963 to 1980. Average verbal scores fell over 50 points and average mathematics scores dropped nearly 40 points.[30]

College Board achievement tests also reveal consistent declines in recent years in such subjects as Physics and English.

Both the number and proportion of students demonstrating superior achievement on the SAT's (i.e., those with scores of 650 and higher) have also dramatically declined.

Many 17-year-olds do not possess the "higher order" intellectual skills we should expect for them. Nearly 40 percent cannot draw inferences from written material; only one-fifth can write a persuasive essay; and only one-third can solve a mathematics problem requiring several steps.

There was a steady decline in science achievement scores of U.S. 17-year-olds as measured by national assessments of science in 1969, 1973, and 1977.

Between 1975 and 1980, remedial mathematics courses in public 4-year colleges increased by 72 percent and now constitute one-quarter of all mathematics courses taught in those institutions.

Average tested achievement of students graduating from college is also lower.

The situation for Hispanics does not deviate substantially from these findings, and it has far more serious implications. Specific data for this group supports the conclusion that Hispanic youth are not only suffering from undereducation but the human resource, which they represent, is being wasted. Their educational needs are not understood or met; their aspirations remain unrecognized and their potential stunted.

These conclusions are included in *Make Something Happen*, a report on the condition of secondary schooling for Hispanics. The report was prepared by the Hispanic Policy Development Project (HPDP) and it synthetises the findings of a study conducted by an appointed commission.[31]

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[30] Last year scores on both parts of the SAT rose by one point on the verbal section of the test and three points on the math section. This increase is considered encouraging, but after a 17-year decline it gives little reason for complacency or even optimism about educational quality in the U.S. (See "SAT Scores Rise 3 Points in Math, 1 on Verbal Test", *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 26, 1984, p. 1).

[31] *Make Something Happen*, Report of the Commission on the Condition of Secondary Schooling for Hispanics prepared by the Hispanic Policy Development Project (1984).

The purpose of the study was to fill the gap in the current education debate by providing an analysis focused on the situation confronted by Hispanic youth in the system of secondary education. Never before has the task of assisting communities, educators, policy makers, and legislators in preparing young Hispanics for leadership and full participation in America's socio-political life been so important. As Chairman Simon has put it, the United States:

> . . . can ill afford to have a rapidly growing class of citizens who have not been able to take advantage of education or technical training to contribute to the well being of our industries, our citizens, and our future. (Hearings 98th Congress, p. 1)

The Commission's study did not attempt to analyze every aspect of secondary schooling but focused instead on selected findings and recommendations. These, the Commission felt, can make a difference and improve the performance of inner-city Hispanic students and their schools.

These are some of the Commission's findings:

Forty percent of Hispanic drop-outs leave school before reaching the 10th grade. Twenty-five percent enter high school at over-age.

Nationally, Puerto Ricans have the highest drop-out rate at 23 percent; Mexican-Americans follow with 21 percent; Cubans with 19 percent and Other Hispanics with 11 percent. As Table 3 shows, these rates are largely determined by a combination of economic conditions and family responsibilities, with 41 percent of males and 23 percent of females leaving school for such reasons.

While 17 percent of Anglos never finish high school, 45 percent of Hispanics never do so.

Over two-thirds of all Hispanics attending high school are enrolled in schools that are over 50 percent minority. In addition to being highly segregated, these schools are usually overcrowded, or poorly equipped, or have lower per pupil budgets than other schools in adjacent areas.

Ratios of counselors to students are as high as 1 to 700. The recommended ratio is 1 to 250. Some schools with predominantly Hispanic student bodies do not have Spanish speaking counselors.

These findings do not relate to Puerto Rico. The conclusions of the study are relevant to the educational condition of rural, migrant, suburban, or middle and upper-class Hispanics in the continental United States.

According to the American Council of Education, only 39 percent of Hispanic high school students potentially eligible for college actually enroll. However, in terms of high school grades, academic preparation, background and educational characteristics, Hispanic college candidates tend to be less qualified than non-minority college candidates. This is true of all Hispanics seeking admission to selective higher education institutions.

In 1980–81, 60.2 percent of white SAT test takers reported earning a grade-point average of 3.0 or better compared to 53.4 percent

of Mexican-Americans and 47.1 of Puerto Ricans. Hispanic SAT test takers were almost 15 percent less likely than white test takers to have been enrolled in college preparatory programs during high school. Ninety-three percent of white students had studied English and 60 percent had studied mathematics for four or more years before taking the SAT. The respective proportions for Mexican-Americans were 84 and 45 percent, and for Puerto Ricans 89 and 44 percent. A small but significant portion of Hispanic test takers—9 percent of Puerto Ricans and 6.8 percent of Mexican-Americans—answered "No" to the question: "Is English your best language?" In and by themselves these figures are low. But compared to the proportion for whites—a little under 2 percent—they are very significant.[33] Furthermore, sociolinguistic research suggests that those who maintain that English is their best language could still manifest limited proficiency with English and communicative demands occurring in academic settings.[33]

At present, one third of all Hispanics are under age 15; two-thirds are under age 34. While other populations continue to age, Hispanics will remain a youthful population. Before long, Hispanics will be not only the largest minority in the U.S. but the core of their communities.

Hispanic high school students are in need of specialized programs of services aimed at a) reducing the drop out rate; and b) increasing college admissions and college achievement. If this need is not met at the secondary level, the present trends will be perpetuated at the postsecondary level.

B. Conclusion

In determining whether Hispanics as a group will be able to meet the demands of a post-industrial society, educational achievement plays a crucial role. Access to a quality education means access to quality employment.

There are no easy solutions to this problem. But it is clear that the federal government must renew its efforts and commit greater resources to support expanded access of Hispanics to higher education. If due consideration is given to the problems of retention and graduation, expanded access is bound to ensure quality employment for Hispanics.

National research shows that the majority of Hispanics enter high school with education and career aspirations as high as any other group in the society;[34] that their parents are deeply concerned about their schooling;[35] and that students want to succeed in jobs that will give them financial security and a sense of dignity.[36]

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[33] Richard P. Duran, *Hispanics' College Preparation and Outcomes: Some Research Issues Bearing on Policy* (Educational Testing Service), 1983, pp. 5, 6, 18.

[33] Richard P. Duran, *Hispanics' Education and Background: Predictors of College Achievement* (New York: College Board), 1983.

[34] Francois Nielsen and Richard Fernandez, *Achievement of Hispanic Students in American High Schools: Background Characteristics and Achievement* (Washington, D.C.: NCES), 1981, p. 25.

[35] NCES, "Selected Statistics on the Education of Hispanics", update to *The Condition of Hispanic Education*, 1982, p. 74.

[36] Michael E. Borus, et.al., *Pathways to the Future: A Longitudinal Study of Young Americans* (Preliminary Report: Youth and the Labor Market–1979), Ohio: Center for Human Resources Research, Ohio State University, 1980, p. 306.

There is a great deal that needs to be done in terms of in-school reforms and school/community relations. Fiscal support must originate at the state level. There is a sound factual basis for the Federal Government's continued and expanded role in this area, which must not be sacrificed on the altar of budgetary constraint.

The hard-earned educational gains of the past 20 years—as precarious as they might be—are precious and should not be lost.

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